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Employment Transitions in an Era of Change in Thailand*

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Abstract

The last three decades offer much evidence of greater access to new avenues of employment with globalization and rapid economic development in Southeast Asia, including a trend toward employment-related migration out of rural areas. This article considers the implications of globalization in Thailand from a rural perspective by examining the direct impact on employment of rural residents who migrate to urban areas, and the indirect impact on rural residents through the experiences of urban migrants. Within this framework, we consider whether men and women have similar migration and associated employment outcomes, and whether those outcomes vary by changes in the individual's stage in the life course. We use data for working-age individuals from Nang Rong District in Thailand in 1984, 1994, and 2000 to determine general employment trends in rural and urban Thailand. An associated analysis follows a single cohort of individuals aged 8–25 years in 1984 to examine changes in their employment patterns in subsequent years, 1994 and 2000. We discuss the factors influencing some individuals to remain employed in Nang Rong, while others migrate, either permanently or temporarily, to urban areas. We compare categories of sector of employment, including individuals not employed, to examine these questions.

Keywords: globalization, employment, labor force, migration, rural-urban, gender differences, developing countries, Thailand

Globalization and Employment

Until recently Thailand was a predominantly agricultural economy. Even now, 80

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percent of the population lives in rural areas. Over the past three decades, however, Thailand became a fast-growing, industrializing economy [Phananiramai 1996: 275]. Only half of the labor force is now engaged in agriculture [World Bank n. d. (a)] as compared with more than 75 percent in 1970 [Phananiramai 1996: 275]. Agriculture as a share of gross domestic product has also decreased, contributing only a little more than 10 percent by 2000. Industry, especially manufacturing, has increased its share to 40 percent, with services holding steady at about 50 percent of GDP. Average annual growth rates have varied, but they reached levels as high as 9 percent in the period 1985–89, sufficient to absorb a rapidly growing labor force [Mason and Campbell 1993: 14]. Growth rates in manufacturing have been particularly notable, reaching levels of 10 percent per annum in the period 1980–90 and 12 percent in 1999 [World Bank n. d. (b)]. The average annual rate of industrial growth peaked in the late 1980s as a result [Galenson 1992: 6].

These dramatic changes in the structure of Thailand's economy have occurred in the context, and in many ways as a consequence, of globalization. Globalization refers to the process by which economic, financial, technical, and cultural transactions between different countries and communities throughout the world become increasingly interconnected [Pearson 2000: 10]. The increasing integration of the world economy has had consequences for patterns and trends in employment within countries. In Thailand the growth in the manufacturing sector was (and is) tied directly to large increases in foreign investment and the growth of export-based manufacturing industry [Kurian 1999: 178], in addition to government policies to promote this sector [Rigg and Nattapoolwat 2001: 945]. Globalization has resulted in the movement of production activity from more to less developed countries, consolidating an international division of labor that takes advantage of cheap labor in the latter. Though not new [Moghadam 1999: 368; also see Dickinson 1997: 110], globalization has gained unprecedented impetus since the 1970s [Beneria *et al.* 2000: vii; Moghadam 1999: 368].

The impact of globalization on employment has been well documented. Job creation associated with this trend involves manufacturing activities as a result of direct foreign investment and particularly through the creation of export-processing zones [Pearson 2000: 11; Rama 2001: 16; Standing 1989: 1080]. Trade-related employment in the service sector such as tourism, finance, and information processing is also evident [Pearson 2000: 12; United Nations 1999: 11]. In Thailand, for instance, tourism has become an important provider of foreign exchange [Bell 1998]. The impact of these trends is most evident in urban areas—not surprisingly, as urban centers are foci of production activity and the provision of services, catering to both domestic and foreign markets. Accordingly, the literature linking globalization, international trade, and other economic changes with employment patterns and trends within countries has a distinct urban bias.

Although the economic forces associated with globalization have their most obvious impact in the major urban areas of developing countries, it is also important to consider their impact on marginal populations, especially on people living in the rural areas of

developing countries. Only a few authors have done this [*e. g.*, Rigg and Nattapoolwat 2001: 946]. Globalization is implicated in the commercialization of agriculture and a shift to the production of more profitable cash crops in conjunction with Thailand's emphasis on economic development through export promotion, starting around 1970 [Charoenloet 1992: 55]. For instance, the cultivation of cassava as a cash crop in Thailand began in direct response to a demand for this product in Europe, where it is used as a supplement to cattle feed, and a change in European Economic Commission (EEC) import regulations that made it possible for Thai farmers to respond to this demand. Economic forces may operate "at a distance," as in the cassava example, or they may intrude directly into the rural economy. Some farmers in Thailand have subcontracted their family plots to multinational corporations in order to produce cash crops or raise shrimp under contract to those companies [Rigg and Nattapoolwat 2001: 950; Stephens 1995]. With the commercialization of agriculture, some household members in rural Thailand also diversified into employment as brokers and traders [Ayuwat 1997: 89]. Globalization may not always serve to increase economic opportunities in rural areas, however. Some argue that the opening of urban markets to cheaper agricultural imports and the removal of agricultural subsidies result in the loss of employment among small-scale farmers [United Nations 1999: 38].

In this study, we focus on economic change in the context of globalization in Thailand, emphasizing the growth of economic and employment opportunities. We further elaborate the consequences of globalization for rural populations, with particular reference to the situation in Thailand and especially the role that migration plays. Indeed, migration is part and parcel of the globalization process. Communities have become increasingly interconnected within as well as between countries. The economic, financial, technical, and cultural transactions that link communities together [see Pearson 2000: 10] involve the movement of people as well as flows of money, goods, information, and ideas. When migrants cross international borders, their role in the globalization process is clear [Massey *et al.* 1993: 459]. The same processes that give rise to international migration of labor from less to more developed countries motivate rural-to-urban migration of labor within developing countries [VanWey 2001]. In Thailand, as in many countries, the establishment and growth of manufacturing concerns in and around urban centers is associated with employment-related migration from rural areas. The seasonal nature of agriculture in Thailand is also responsible for considerable movement of individuals back to rural areas as well as between rural areas.

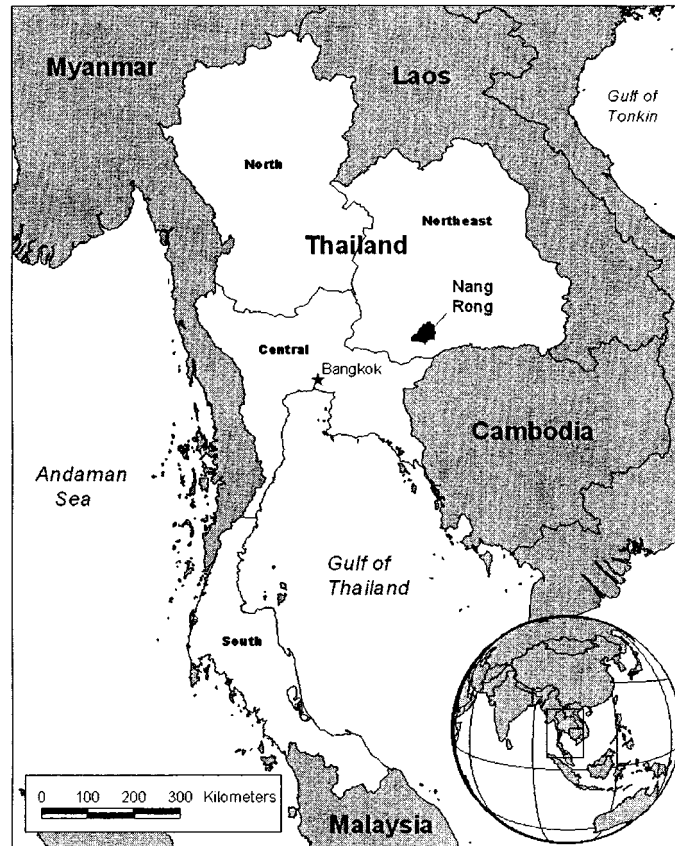
By migrating to urban areas, the rural population may participate directly in the growth of employment in manufacturing associated with foreign investment and export-oriented industry, and with the growth in construction and services that may accompany it. In turn, these migrants affect the rural economy in several ways. Migrants may send remittances to their households of origin, thus improving the quality of life in rural areas and possibly also providing the capital to create or expand household businesses [Guest

1996: 301]. They may return and bring with them a taste for an urban lifestyle, an unwillingness to work in agriculture, the skills to obtain some other kind of employment outside of agriculture, or the wherewithal to build some kind of nonagricultural concern. These migration-related consequences of globalization for the rural population are in addition to the effects on agriculture that are generally the focus in the literature (for an exception, see Rigg and Nattapoolwat [2001: 946]). Our study of the patterns and trends in employment in rural areas and of migration by rural migrants to urban areas thus fills a gap in the literature on globalization and employment.

Although our main interest is in general patterns and trends, similarities and differences in the experiences of men and women are also of interest. In an economy known for its high rate of female labor force participation [Sussangkorn and Chalamwong 1996: 97], the growth of economic opportunities outside of agriculture has encouraged the movement of women as well as men. In contrast to other developing countries, where men typically constitute a major part of the migrant labor force, in Thailand both men and women have been important. Women typically comprise the majority of the labor force in the new labor-intensive manufacturing sectors of developing countries that produce goods for the global economy [Rama 2001: 16; Standing 1989: 1080]. This has been true in the case of Thailand, where, in 1989, female workers exceeded male workers in the manufacturing, commerce, and service sectors [Phananiramai 1996: 282].

The Example of Nang Rong

Our study is set in Nang Rong, a rural district in the Northeast Region of Thailand (Map 1). The Northeast, one of the country's poorest regions, is a major supplier of migrants to the urban areas of Thailand, especially Bangkok and the Eastern Seaboard. According to the National Migration Survey, a significant proportion of the migrants to Bangkok comes from the Northeast [Guest 1996: 283; Guest *et al.* 1994: 536]. Many of them are temporary migrants and are registered in their region of origin [Chamratrithirong *et al.* 1995: 23]. According to other observers [Chalamwong 1998: 305; Krongkaew 1995: 58], migration in Thailand is more permanent. Migrants tend to stay year-round in urban areas, although without severing their ties with the rural households. Such employment-based migration provides rural households with more wage-employment opportunities to supplement their earnings through seasonal migration. Alongside a greater demand for labor in urban centers in recent decades, the development of better transportation and infrastructure has facilitated the corresponding increase in the level of employment-based migration. Although employment in urban areas in the global era has been characterized negatively as "flexible," "casual," and "informal," with a low wage potential, for residents of rural villages it offers a better wage than can be earned locally, along with the opportunity and access to an urban lifestyle.



Map 1 Study Area Location, Nang Rong District, Northeast Thailand

Among residents of the Nang Rong study villages, migration is exceedingly common. As we show later, two-thirds of young men aged 8–25 living in the study villages in 1984, and just over half of the young women, migrated away in the ensuing decade, many to Bangkok and other urban centers. The high level of migration is not surprising given the inhabitants' poverty, their reliance on agriculture, the population pressure on land, the low level of industrialization, and the limited access to other economic activities in Nang Rong and the Northeast generally. Paddy-rice cultivation is the dominant economic pursuit in the Nang Rong villages; and given the dependence on monsoon rains, there is only one crop each year. Many people migrate to urban areas during the slack agricultural season, returning when it is time to plant and transplant rice again. Others migrate for a longer period, although returning to help with the harvest, and perhaps returning for good later on. Still others migrate permanently.

Our study is set in the context of trends occurring in the late twentieth century, from 1984 to 2000. Taken as a whole, the period 1984–2000 was one of unprecedented economic growth in Thailand. However, the same forces that encouraged foreign investment and

created a global market for Thailand's industry also exposed the country to external influences and global crises. The consequences were especially evident in the financial crisis of 1997, which resulted in job losses in the urban areas and return migration to rural areas. There have been mixed reports on the impact of the 1997 crisis in rural areas. Some observers assert that the impact was decidedly negative [*e. g.*, Chalamwong 1998: 297; Phongpaichit and Baker 2000: 101]. Others argue that there was only a short-term impact [*e. g.*, Rigg and Nattapoolwat 2001: 956]. National data show that the growth of investment was positive in all years between 1994 and 2000 except for 1997 and 1998, and likewise, the growth of exports was positive in all years between 1994 and 2000 except for 1996, 1997, and 1998 [World Bank n. d. (b)]. The economy had recovered to some extent by 2000, the end point of our own study.

We use data from a set of surveys conducted by the Institute for Population and Social Research (IPSR), Mahidol University, and the Carolina Population Center, University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill, known collectively as the C-Bird Evaluation Program–Carolina Population Center (CEP-CPC) surveys, to analyze the employment picture in 1984, 1994, and 2000 for residents of rural Nang Rong, and in 1994 and 2000 to analyze the employment situation of rural-to-urban migrants. We investigate employment patterns from several perspectives. First, we consider trends in the employment of men and women in rural Nang Rong villages during 1984–2000 and in the employment of migrants from these villages to Bangkok and other urban destinations during 1994–2000. In particular, we are interested in whether, and to what extent, employment in agriculture declined in rural Nang Rong during the period, and whether nonagricultural activity increased. Were changes in the economic activities of migrants from Nang Rong to urban areas also evident during the period? We focus too on youth to examine whether their employment behavior changed in this evolving economic scenario, especially with respect to their transition from school to work. Second, we consider the aggregate and individual employment experiences of a cohort of young people aged 8–25 years in 1984 as they aged over the 16-year period through the year 2000. We examine the changes in their migration and employment activities over their life course, focusing on the trajectories of young men versus young women. We touch on the effects of the 1997 economic crisis in our analysis of the 1994–2000 data; but we do not attempt a full assessment of the 1997 crisis and its consequences for employment, which would require more detailed data than we report here.

The remainder of the article is organized as follows. The next section describes the data, measures, and analytic approach in greater detail. The following section documents employment trends over the 1984–2000 period for men and women of prime working age, first for residents of rural Nang Rong villages and then for migrants to urban areas. After that, we shift to a cohort perspective, taking advantage of the longitudinal strength of the data set to study change over the life course. The article concludes with a discussion of the trends shown in each part of the analysis, relating them to the context of globalization in which they occurred.

Data and Method

In the changing context of economic opportunities in Thailand, we examine employment patterns of men and women from a rural perspective. We analyze data from the Nang Rong CEP-CPC surveys. (For a more detailed description of the surveys, see <http://www.cpc.unc.edu/projects/nangrong>) The surveys are both prospective and retrospective, include migrants from Nang Rong to Bangkok and selected other urban areas, and cover a crucial period in the recent history of the country. With these data, it is possible to examine not only employment trends over the period, but also the experiences of a particular cohort of individuals as they move through their life course. The experiences of migrants can be compared with those of return migrants and nonmigrants. Migration is defined in the survey as a move lasting at least two months. As the first study to document employment trends with the Nang Rong CEP-CPC data, this article focuses on a description of major trends, the role of migration, and gender differences in employment patterns.

The Nang Rong CEP-CPC surveys began in 1984. The first surveys were fielded in 51 study villages in that year. Data were collected on all persons in all households in the 51 study villages. Likewise, in 1994 and 2000, data were again collected on all persons in all households in the 51 villages (including those affected by administrative splits).¹⁾ The 1994 and 2000 data cover persons who may have migrated into the study villages as well as those 1984 residents still (or perhaps again) residing in those villages. We use the data from the 1984, 1994, and 2000 cross-sections to describe employment patterns at each of these dates and, more specifically, to document whether a shift out of agriculture occurred among rural residents. We focus on men and women aged 18–35; but for information about trends in the timing of labor force entry, we also look at patterns among youth aged 11–17. Occupational data were collected for all household members aged 11 and older.

In addition to surveying all residents of the 51 study villages at each date, the CEP-CPC surveys followed up all the original 1984 residents in 1994 and 2000, and all the 1994 residents in 2000. As part of the 1994 survey, an annual life history was collected for those aged 18–35, and in 2000 for those aged 18–41. The life history provides retrospective information about migration experience and allows us to distinguish rural residents who migrated and returned from those who never migrated (since age 13, when the life history starts). Further, in 1994 and 2000, in a subset of 22 villages, we followed out-migrants to

1) Between 1984 and 2000, the original 51 villages split administratively—into 76 villages in 1994 and into 92 villages in 2000. All persons and all households in all descendant villages are included in the 1994 and 2000 data collections. For ease of exposition, we refer simply to the 51 study villages.

select urban destinations: Bangkok, the Eastern Seaboard, Korat (a regional city), and Buriram (the provincial city).²⁾ For 1994 and 2000, it is thus possible to examine the employment patterns of Nang Rong migrants who lived in urban areas. Here is where we might expect to see some effects of the 1997 financial crisis. The longitudinal design of the CEP-CPC surveys enables us also to examine the employment patterns of a cohort of young persons in 1984 as they migrated or not, returned or not, in the context of dramatic macroeconomic changes over the 1984–2000 period.

Measuring Employment

The key variable of interest in our descriptive analysis is the primary occupation of the individuals, recorded in the household roster of the Nang Rong household and migrant follow-up surveys. Although some of Thailand's working-age population has a secondary occupation, as is the case in many developing countries, we restrict our analysis to the primary occupation in order to focus on the productive activity to which individuals allocate most of their time. To be consistent with the rural context of the data collection, we did not use formal definitions of the labor force or of employment. The International Labour Organization (ILO) uses the term "labor force" as a formal concept to identify persons who are working (employed), or are without work but have looked for work during a specified reference period (unemployed). Such concepts do not apply well in agricultural settings, where seasonal unemployment is common. It is not our goal to describe patterns of seasonal unemployment, but rather to capture broad trends over time. In Nang Rong, the household surveys were fielded during the agricultural slack season—deliberately, so that people had time to participate. Thus, we were interested in people's usual occupation, not whether they were in fact working at the time of the survey. In addition, we were interested in unpaid as well as paid work. Rural Nang Rong is composed largely of small farmers, who work first for subsistence and then sell the surplus. Formal definitions of the labor force and employment, which do not always include unpaid family members working on family farms or in family businesses, may distort gender patterns of employment, especially in rural areas [Beneria 1981: 10; Dixon 1982: 539]. Thus, while broad and including a subjective element (*i. e.*, respondents decide what constitutes an occupation), our measure of employment fits with the reality of the setting we are trying to describe.

We use information on primary occupation to classify employment into categories. All respondents aged 11 years or over provided information on their primary occupation. As Nang Rong is a poor district where agriculture or related activities are the predomi-

2) In 2000, the migrant follow-up included a rural as well as an urban component. Migrants to other villages in Nang Rong (including nonstudy villages) were followed up in 2000. We do not use the rural migrant data in this analysis.

nant occupation, our interest lies in examining a move away from agriculture, with an expectation that nonagricultural opportunities increased in recent years. Therefore, at the first stage of this analysis, we broadly define employment sector on the basis of whether or not an individual is employed in agriculture (or related activities such as animal husbandry), in nonagricultural activities, or in no occupation. Individuals classified as not employed are those in school, in college, or undergoing vocational training; housewives or stay-at-home fathers; or those who have no job or occupation (who may or may not be seeking a job). All of these are individuals of working age with the potential to be employed.

We also examine primary employment in nonagricultural activities in more detail. This examination includes observing what individuals do when employed outside of agriculture. Furthermore, we are interested in examining patterns of movement between these nonagricultural sectors over time among rural residents (nonmigrants and return migrants) and among rural-to-urban migrants. We classify all nonagricultural activities as skilled or unskilled blue-collar work that involves any production activity; employment in the service sector; and government, professional, and other activities. We use this classification for two reasons. First, the literature on globalization and employment focuses primarily on the growth of the manufacturing and service sectors. It also alludes to a gender bias in employment in these sectors. Although globalization initially creates opportunities for unskilled and semi-skilled labor, especially for young women, a transition occurs in later years, when the development of industry creates a market for the service sector resulting in higher employment in service-sector work [Pearson 2000: 11]. Second, a simple descriptive analysis of the Nang Rong data confirms that these sectors are the most important (details not shown). In particular, employment in factories or in construction labor is the most important blue-collar work activity in our data. Employment as traders, food-service providers, commercial transport drivers, and domestic workers are the most important service activities in our data.

Analysis Samples

Our analysis of employment capitalizes on the information available in the Nang Rong CEP-CPC data. The analysis involves two steps. The first uses the data as a time-series of cross-sections to study trends; the second uses the data to follow the experiences of a cohort over time. Fig. 1 illustrates how the two samples overlap in the analysis.

The cross-sectional analysis represented by the solid gray bars in the figure is restricted to men and women of prime working age (18–35 years) at three time points: 1984, 1994, and 2000. The data for employment patterns in Nang Rong refer to residents of all 51 villages. There were 9,993 such individuals in 1984, 7,776 in 1994, and 8,693 in 2000. The respondents in each of the time periods are not necessarily the same because of aging

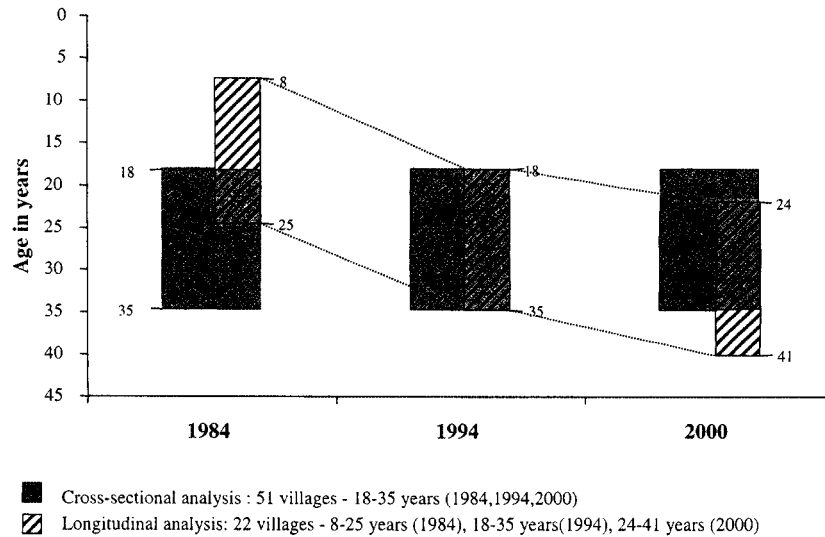


Fig. 1 Analysis Samples

(into or out of the defined age group) and because of migration. Some of the residents of Nang Rong in 1984 had migrated out of Nang Rong by 1994 or 2000. Another possibility is that individuals who resided outside Nang Rong and were therefore not surveyed in 1984 may have migrated (back) into Nang Rong in 1994 or 2000. The cross-sectional analysis also includes urban migrants from Nang Rong in 1994 and 2000. The data for Nang Rong migrants refer to urban migrants from the 22 villages featured in the migrant follow-up survey. There were 2,013 urban migrants aged 18–35 in the 1994 survey and 2,173 in the 2000 survey. A secondary part of the cross-sectional analysis examines employment patterns of youth aged 11–17 years to see whether economic changes had a differential impact on their employment. The number of Nang Rong residents in this age category was 6,371 in 1984, 5,034 in 1994, and 4,477 in 2000. The number of urban migrants in this category was quite small, 286 in 1994 and 100 in 2000.

The longitudinal part of the analysis represented by the striped bars in Fig. 1 follows a cohort of 4,550 individuals aged 8–25 years who lived in 22 villages of Nang Rong in 1984 and were surveyed again in 1994 and 2000, either as residents of Nang Rong or as migrants to selected urban areas.³⁾ In 1994 and 2000, these individuals were in the age groups 18–35 and 24–41, respectively. We describe the experience of the cohort as a whole as well as investigate the experiences of the individuals who make up the cohort. This cohort analysis is based on cases for whom we have complete data. Therefore, we

3) In this cohort analysis we focus on the residents living in 1984 in the 22 study villages featured in the 1994 and 2000 migrant follow-up surveys. We do this so that we can follow all individuals in the specified cohort through the period 1984–2000, whether they continued to reside in the same villages or migrated to urban areas.

include only individuals for whom we have information on their employment in the subsequent time periods, 1994 and 2000, as well as in 1984.⁴⁾ This means that individuals who left the study villages and moved to rural destinations are not included. Nor are migrants living in urban destinations who could not be found.

Employment Trends during 1984–2000

The first part of our analysis provides a rural perspective on general employment trends. Tables 1 and 2 present the picture for individuals 18–35 years old at three points in time—1984, 1994, and 2000. They are snapshots of male and female employment patterns as the Thai economy went through periods of dramatic economic growth, crisis, and initial recovery. Each table presents two sets of results. The upper panel differentiates the sample by employment sector—employed in agriculture, employed in a non-agricultural occupation, or not employed. The lower panel further explores the occupations of those employed outside of agriculture, as blue-collar workers, as service-sector workers, or in government, professional, or other occupations.

As expected, we find that a majority of the prime-working-age population residing in the Nang Rong villages is engaged in agriculture in each of the time periods (Table 1). In

Table 1 Employment Sector and Work Category of Residents, Ages 18–35, by Gender: Nang Rong District, Thailand, 1984, 1994, and 2000 (Percentage Distributions)

Employment Sector/ Work Category	1984			1994			2000		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Employment sector									
Agriculture	79.6	84.8	82.2	81.6	83.7	82.7	72.1	68.2	70.1
Nonagriculture	15.7	9.8	12.7	14.7	10.9	12.7	18.0	18.8	18.4
Not employed	4.7	5.4	5.1	3.7	5.4	4.6	9.9	13.1	11.5
Work category									
Agriculture	79.6	84.8	82.2	81.6	83.7	82.7	73.0	68.8	70.9
Blue-collar work	7.4	5.5	6.4	8.4	6.5	7.4	10.3	11.4	10.9
Service sector	1.6	2.8	2.2	2.8	2.9	2.8	4.6	4.0	4.3
Govt./Professional/Other	6.7 ^a	1.5	4.1	3.5	1.6	2.5	2.9	3.3	3.1
Not employed	4.7	5.4	5.1	3.7	5.4	4.6	9.9	13.1	11.5
Number	4,933	5,060	9,993	3,715	4,061	7,776	4,250	4,443	8,693

^a Soldiers and monks account for the substantial percentage of men employed in government, professional, and other jobs in 1984.

4) As only respondents 11 years old or older provided information on their primary occupation, the cohort aged 8–25 in 1984 includes individuals who were too young and therefore did not provide any information on their employment. These individuals are nevertheless included in our analysis.

1984, 82 percent of the residents of the study villages who were in the 18–35 age group worked in agriculture; in 1994 the figure was 83 percent, and in 2000 it was 70 percent. A considerable decline occurred between 1994 and 2000, reflecting a trend observed in other research [Phananiramai 1996: 275]. The decline for women is especially noticeable, 15 percentage points as compared with 9 percentage points for men, causing a slight reversal in the differential. Nonagricultural employment increased over these same years, from 13 to 18 percent. Again, the increase was more pronounced for women than men, erasing an initial tendency for greater involvement in nonagricultural pursuits among men than women. Considering the 1994–2000 period within the context of economic growth overall, this trend might reflect a slow increase in nonagricultural opportunities in rural Nang Rong, as local factories were built, the rural economy grew and diversified, district towns increased in size, and the state pursued an active economic development policy emphasizing industrial development. There is also evidence of increased employment of individuals in rural areas as laborers as a result of the expansion of rural factories and the growing risks in cash-crop production [Ayuwat 1997: 90]. Given that the 1994–2000 period was punctuated by a major financial crisis in 1997, it may also be that more migrants returned as a consequence of that crisis, bringing with them a preference and skills that qualified them for nonagricultural employment [Chalamwong 1998: 310].

The decrease in agricultural employment in the rural villages coincided with an increase in the numbers of prime-age men and women without a job, from 5 percent in 1994 to nearly 12 percent in 2000. It is tempting to see the increase in relation to the financial crisis of 1997. Migrants who lost their jobs may have returned home; perhaps there was not enough work, or perhaps they were not willing to do it. This is a possible scenario, but before accepting it we need to consider an alternative explanation—namely, that either as part of economic growth and change generally, or in response to the crisis, young men and women began delaying their entry into the labor force. We shall return to this issue after first addressing employment patterns among Nang Rong migrants.

Changes in employment patterns among residents of Nang Rong District are apparent from Table 1, especially between 1994 and 2000. We might wonder whether the patterns changed for migrants to Bangkok and other urban destinations over the same period. Table 2 shows employment characteristics of migrants based on the migrant follow-up surveys in 1994 and 2000. It provides information on occupations of migrants 18–35 years old to urban areas from a subset of 22 villages in Nang Rong. Urban migrants were typically engaged in nonagricultural activities, especially as blue-collar workers in factories or on construction sites. An interesting trend, however, is the growing importance of the service sector. Whereas 17 percent of migrants were employed in the service sector in 1994, 23 percent of urban migrants were so employed in 2000. This shift may be part of a longer-term increase in the tertiary labor force associated with continued economic growth and urbanization. Alternatively, employment opportunities in manu-

Table 2 Employment Sector and Work Category of Migrants, Ages 18–35, by Gender, from Nang Rong District to Urban Areas of Thailand in 1994 and 2000 (Percentage Distributions)

Employment Sector/ Work Category	Urban Migrants (1994)			Urban Migrants (2000)		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Employment sector						
Agriculture	2.5	2.0	2.2	2.6	1.5	2.0
Nonagriculture	93.6	87.3	90.4	91.6	82.8	86.8
Not employed	4.0	10.8	7.4	5.8	15.7	11.2
Work category						
Agriculture	2.5	2.0	2.2	2.6	1.5	2.0
Blue-collar work	68.8	67.2	68.0	56.0	56.8	56.5
Service sector	18.0	15.6	16.8	28.2	18.2	22.8
Govt./Professional/Other	6.7	4.4	5.6	7.3	7.7	7.6
Not employed	4.0	10.8	7.4	5.8	15.7	11.2
Number	1,009	1,004	2,013	996	1,177	2,173

Note: Data on urban migrants are limited to 22 villages.

facturing and construction may have declined with the crisis, prompting a shift into service sector work. There is no way to know from our data whether the shift was due to a decline in economic opportunities in manufacturing and construction, an increase in opportunities in the service sector, or possibly both.

Another trend among urban migrants is an increase in those reporting no occupation, particularly among women. It is possible that the increase reflects the effects of the 1997 crisis and reduced opportunities in manufacturing work for women. It is also possible that a gender difference in return migration is responsible for this shift. Because of migration, the expected increase in unemployment may not be visible among urban migrants. Single men and women who lost their jobs in the 1997 crisis might have returned to Nang Rong. Married men who lost their jobs might also have returned, bringing their families with them. It is unlikely that married women who lost their jobs would have returned if their husbands did not also return, however. Moreover, even when times are good, not all women work. Among urban migrants, even in 1994, more than twice as many women as men did not have an occupation. Given their stage in the life course, possibly with young children, this was to be expected. If the economic downturn discouraged continued rural-to-urban migration, and encouraged return migration, housewives may have simply increased their representation among migrants in the 1994–2000 period. In spite of this, the data show that as much as 85 to 90 percent of women were employed, confirming the high level of female labor force participation in both urban and rural areas.

The above results refer to the working-age population. The large percentage increase in the nonworking population between 1994 and 2000 among both migrants and Nang Rong residents aged 18–35 raises the question whether it reflected harder times

after the 1997 economic crisis. It is not clear whether these individuals of prime working age were unemployed because they had lost their jobs or whether they intentionally delayed their entry into the work force. Either way, it encourages us to examine whether a trend toward delayed entry of younger individuals existed.

Table 3 Employment Sector and Work Category of Young Residents and Migrants from Nang Rong District, Thailand, Ages 11–17, by Gender: 1984, 1994, and 2000
(Percentage Distributions)

Employment Sector/ Work Category	Residents of Nang Rong			Urban Migrants	
	1984	1994	2000	1994	2000
Employment sector					
<u>Males</u>					
Agriculture	44.2	32.2	14.5	1.5	5.5
Nonagriculture	4.8	5.3	4.2	83.8	40.0
Not employed	51.0	62.6	81.4	14.7	54.6
Total	3,223	2,625	2,210	136	55
<u>Females</u>					
Agriculture	47.7	31.8	9.7	0.0	2.2
Nonagriculture	5.2	4.5	4.1	81.3	35.6
Not employed	47.1	63.7	86.2	18.7	62.2
Total	3,148	2,409	2,267	150	45
<u>Total</u>					
Agriculture	46.0	32.0	12.0	0.7	4.0
Nonagriculture	5.0	4.9	4.1	82.5	38.0
Not employed	49.1	63.1	83.9	16.8	58.0
Total	6,371	5,034	4,477	286	100
Work category					
<u>Males</u>					
Agriculture	44.2	32.2	14.5	1.5	5.5
Blue-collar work	3.2	4.0	3.2	70.6	29.1
Service sector	0.4	0.5	0.5	12.5	10.9
Govt./Professional/Other	1.3	0.8	0.4	0.7	0.0
Not employed	51.0	62.6	81.4	14.7	54.6
<u>Females</u>					
Agriculture	47.7	31.8	9.7	0.0	2.2
Blue-collar work	3.1	3.7	3.2	72.0	15.6
Service sector	2.1	0.7	0.7	9.3	20.0
Govt./Professional/Other	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0
Not employed	47.1	63.7	86.2	18.7	62.2
<u>Total</u>					
Agriculture	46.0	32.0	12.1	0.7	4.0
Blue-collar work	3.1	3.9	3.2	71.3	23.0
Service sector	1.2	0.6	0.6	10.8	15.0
Govt./Professional/Other	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.0
Not employed	49.1	63.1	83.8	16.8	58.0

Note: Data on urban migrants are limited to 22 villages.

Table 3, which compares the employment outcomes in 1984, 1994, and 2000 of male and female youth 11–17 years old residing in Nang Rong as well as migrants in urban centers, indicates a large decrease in the economic activity of youth in both areas over time. Whereas 51 percent of youth in Nang Rong were employed in 1984, only 37 percent were employed in 1994 and only 16 percent were employed in 2000. This decrease in gainful activity corresponds to increased schooling. Although a substantial percentage of youth aged 11–17 not employed was reported to be in school in 1984, the percentage was almost 95 percent in 1994 and 2000 (data not shown). There is no way to determine whether those in school were there as a matter of choice or because lean times limited their opportunity in the labor force. That the trend for increasing education among youth was well established before the 1997 crisis suggests that choice played at least some role. The patterns among youth in Nang Rong correspond with other national data.⁵⁾

The decrease in the work activity of youth was even more substantial among migrants, although our sample is small. In 1994, most migrant youth were in the labor force, mainly in manufacturing and construction. This is not surprising given that much of the migration to urban centers in Thailand has been employment-driven [Phongpaichit 1993: 178]. It appears that in the period of growing economic opportunities during the early 1990s, the labor force attracted a large proportion of youth in urban areas. One study found that migrants to Bangkok generally had higher levels of employment than did nonmigrants in Bangkok [Guest 1996: 292]. Like older individuals, most of them worked as factory or construction workers. Young migrant females did even better than males in the urban labor force. However, the scenario appears to have changed by 2000; a significant percentage dropped out of the labor force. Table 3 shows that 58 percent of migrant youth in the 11–17 age group were not employed in 2000; almost all of them reported that they were still in school. We interpret this change in part as a trend toward delayed labor-force entry that is typically associated with economic development, and in part as a reaction to the economic crisis. The decline was most evident in agriculture in the rural areas and in factory and construction work among urban migrants.

Life-Course Transitions in Employment

The next part of the analysis follows a single cohort of 4,550 individuals through the period of interest, 1984–2000. The results are based on employment outcomes in 1984, 1994, and 2000 for individuals aged 8–25 in 1984 and at that time residing in the 22 Nang Rong

5) Data from the World Bank corroborate the increasing levels of education in Thailand. Between 1980 and 1997, the gross enrollment ratio at the secondary level increased from 29 to 59 percent in Thailand [World Bank n. d. (c)].

villages featured in the migrant follow-up surveys. During the 16-year period of interest, some of the original residents remained in the villages, others moved to urban areas and were still there in 1994 and 2000, and still others returned to their original villages. We examine employment outcomes in the context of changes in the life course as well as changes in the macroeconomic context.

The first two tables in this series show employment in the aggregate in 1984 and 1994 (Table 4) and in 2000 (Table 5). In 1984 all members of the cohort resided in the subset of 22 study villages that were the focus of the migrant follow-up surveys. Most worked in agriculture at that time, although a sizeable minority did not have any occupation at all (a finding that is consistent with the ages of the younger members of the cohort). By 1994, when the cohort was 18–35 years old, the fraction working in agriculture was higher, and the fraction without an occupation was lower among those who stayed in, or returned to, the Nang Rong villages. Well over 80 percent of the cohort members living in Nang Rong in 1994 worked in agriculture. The fraction remained high in 2000, although there was some decline among return migrants. We observe some change in rural employment patterns associated with migration. Among those living in Nang Rong in 1994, we see an emerging difference in the work patterns of nonmigrants and return migrants. Those who had never migrated were less likely to have a nonagricultural job than were those with some migration experience, 6 versus 10 percent. This difference widened between 1994 and 2000. As the proportion without an occupation among the return migrants remained low over the interval, it seems that a shift occurred in the

Table 4 Employment Sector and Work Category Based on Migration Histories of a Single Cohort of Residents and Migrants from Nang Rong District, Thailand, Who Were Aged 8–25 in 1984 and 18–35 in 1994, by Gender (Percentage Distributions)

Employment Sector/ Work Category	1984 (8–25 years) in Nang Rong			1994 (18–35 years)								
				Never Migrated			Ever Migrated			Urban Migrants		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Employment sector												
Agriculture	42.7	47.5	45.1	81.6	86.2	84.7	87.6	86.2	86.9	2.4	1.6	2.0
Nonagriculture	9.7	5.7	7.7	6.2	5.9	6.0	9.5	10.2	9.9	92.8	89.9	91.3
Not employed	26.6	24.2	25.4	12.3	8.0	9.4	2.9	3.6	3.3	4.8	8.5	6.7
Too young	21.0	22.6	21.8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Work category												
Agriculture	42.7	47.5	45.1	81.6	86.2	84.7	87.6	86.2	86.9	2.4	1.6	2.0
Blue-collar work	5.0	3.7	4.3	4.5	2.9	3.4	4.8	5.6	5.2	64.3	68.7	66.6
Service sector	0.6	1.3	1.0	1.7	2.7	2.3	2.1	2.3	2.2	19.1	17.8	18.5
Govt./Professional/Other	4.3 ^a	0.8	2.5	0.0	0.3	0.2	2.6	2.3	2.4	9.4	3.4	6.2
Not employed	26.6	24.2	25.4	12.3	8.0	9.4	2.9	3.6	3.3	4.8	8.5	6.7
Too young	21.0	22.6	21.8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Number	2,269	2,281	4,550	179	376	555	582	696	1,278	502	555	1,057

Notes: Results are based on analysis of data from 22 villages. Both never-migrated and ever-migrated individuals were residents of Nang Rong District in 1994.

^a Soldiers and monks account for the substantial percentage of men employed in government, professional, and other jobs in 1984.

Table 5 Employment Sector and Work Category Based on Migration Histories of a Single Cohort of Residents and Migrants from Nang Rong District, Thailand, Who Were Aged 24–41 in 2000, by Gender (Percentage Distributions)

Employment Sector/ Work Category	Residents of Nang Rong						Urban Migrants		
	Never Migrated			Ever Migrated					
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Employment sector									
Agriculture	81.7	86.9	85.7	80.8	79.2	79.9	3.7	1.7	2.6
Nonagriculture	3.3	10.1	8.5	16.5	15.5	15.9	93.5	88.0	90.5
Not employed	15.0	3.0	5.8	2.7	5.4	4.3	2.9	10.3	6.9
Work category									
Agriculture	81.7	86.9	85.7	80.8	79.2	79.9	3.7	1.7	2.6
Blue-collar work	1.7	6.0	5.0	8.6	8.0	8.2	47.7	56.4	52.5
Service sector	1.7	1.5	1.5	3.7	3.4	3.5	35.7	23.9	29.2
Govt./Professional/Other	0.0	2.5	1.9	4.2	4.1	4.1	10.2	7.7	8.8
Not employed	15.0	3.0	5.8	2.7	5.4	4.3	2.9	10.3	6.9
Number	60	199	259	547	763	1,310	384	468	852

Note: Results are based on analysis of data from 22 villages.

character of the work done by return migrants. Regardless of migration experience, however, rural employment patterns differed sharply from those of rural-to-urban migrants. By 1994, those moving to Bangkok and other urban areas had jobs almost entirely outside of agriculture, and this high level was maintained in 2000, although there was a shift from blue-collar to service work, especially among men (Table 5).

These patterns and trends can be interpreted in terms of the life course embedded in a context of macroeconomic change [Elder 1998: 962]. Basically, we see a cohort entering the prime working years. The percentage without an occupation declines from 1984 to 1994. For many in the cohort, migration is part and parcel of the early work years. The likelihood of migration, and therefore of return migration, is low initially but increases over the adolescent years. This is one reason why the percentage without an occupation is lower among return migrants than among nonmigrants. Migration to urban areas moves young men and women into nonagricultural work. What that work is depends on the opportunities available, which appear to have shifted between 1994 and 2000. Whereas in 1994, two-thirds of the urban migrants had blue-collar occupations (Table 4), the number had declined to just over half by 2000 (Table 5). Some migrants return; others do not. Female migrants to urban areas appear less likely than male migrants to return, perhaps because of ties created after they arrive. Marital ties may explain the greater level of unemployment among women than men who migrate to urban areas, and the fact that they remain rather than return to the rural villages. Those who return appear to bring with them a preference for nonagricultural work, skills that make them attractive to potential employers, or possibly the capital to start a small business. Return migrants are more involved in nonagricultural work than nonmigrants, although of

course not at the same level as in urban areas. Either because of an increasing labor pool of experienced return migrants, or because of shifts brought about by the activities of the migrants themselves, their involvement in nonagricultural work increased between 1994 and 2000. In contrast to the considerable shift from blue-collar to service work among urban migrants, both increased among the return migrants.

We extend this analysis of life-course transitions in employment to better examine what happened to individuals in our selected cohort over the 16-year period, especially with rural employment. Table 6 shows the patterns for individuals in 1994 and 2000, given the categories of employment in 1984: agriculture, nonagriculture, no occupation, or no occupation because too young (those who were aged 8–10 in 1984). Each row of the table shows the distribution of employment outcomes, given 1984 employment. Table 6 is best read and interpreted in conjunction with Tables 4 and 5. As an example, it shows that, among males 8–25 years old in 1984 who were engaged in agriculture, 34 percent lived in the village and were employed in agriculture in 1994, 2 percent worked outside of agriculture, virtually none was without employment, and 63 percent had moved outside the village. Thus, for example, 43 percent of males 8–25 years old were engaged in agriculture in 1984 (Table 4); 10 years later 34 percent of those males—or only 15 percent of all males in the 8–25 year age group—were in agriculture in 1994 (Table 6).

Especially in relation to Tables 4 and 5, Table 6 demonstrates the centrality of migration to the life-course experiences of young people in Nang Rong. Among males

Table 6 Transition in Employment Sector from 1984 to 2000 for Individuals from a Single Cohort Aged 8–25 in 1984 from 22 Villages of Nang Rong District, Thailand, by Gender (Percentage Distributions)

1984	1994				2000				Total %	Total
	Agriculture	Nonagri.	Not		Agriculture	Nonagri.	Not			
			Employed	Migrants			Employed	Migrants		
Males										
Agriculture	34.3	2.4	0.1	63.2	30.9	3.6	0.5	65.0	42.6	967
Nonagriculture	20.4	5.9	0.0	73.8	15.4	7.7	1.4	75.6	9.7	221
Not employed	22.6	4.7	1.7	71.1	15.9	5.0	1.3	77.7	26.5	602
Too young	30.7	3.5	6.2	59.5	25.2	4.2	2.5	68.1	21.2	482
Total	29.1	3.6	1.8	65.5	24.2	4.5	1.3	70.1	100.0	
Number	661	81	41	1,489	543	101	28	1,572		2,272
Females										
Agriculture	54.2	3.4	0.8	41.6	50.2	5.4	2.3	42.2	47.4	1,084
Nonagriculture	25.4	8.5	1.5	64.6	20.8	10.8	1.5	66.9	5.7	130
Not employed	28.0	5.5	2.2	64.4	26.2	7.9	2.8	63.2	24.1	550
Too young	29.7	2.9	6.4	61.1	29.2	6.5	2.0	62.4	22.7	519
Total	40.7	4.1	2.5	52.8	37.9	6.5	2.3	53.3	100.0	
Number	928	93	56	1,206	853	147	51	1,200		2,283

Note: The total size of the cohort aged 8–25 in 1984 does not match the cohort size in 1994 and 2000 because of missing information on employment in 1994 and 2000.

8–25 years old in 1984, 66 percent had moved away by 1994, and 70 percent had moved away by 2000. The fraction is a little lower (53 percent in 1994 and 2000), but still substantial for young women. Although a greater number of young men than young women left their villages, as indicated by Table 5, slightly more young women were found and interviewed in urban destinations. As we discuss more fully below, young men have less to keep them in the village than young women, and so they leave, some of them going to urban places but others going to other rural places. Although women are less likely to leave, those who do are more likely to move to major urban destinations and not return [Entwisle and VanWey 2000].

Table 6 confirms the movement toward nonagricultural employment in the rural areas. In Tables 4 and 5 we saw an increasing trend in this direction over the life course, particularly among return migrants. In Table 6 we see that young people with a nonagricultural job in 1984 were slightly more likely than others to hold such a job in 1994 and 2000, but what is striking is the extent to which this is not the case. Among young men with a nonagricultural job in 1984, 6 percent had one in 1994 and 8 percent had one in 2000. Certainly, this is not a picture of strong job continuity. The same is true for young women. If anything, young persons having a nonagricultural job in 1984 were more likely than others to leave the village. Turning it around, Nang Rong residents with nonagricultural jobs in 1994 and 2000 were as likely or more likely to have held an agricultural as a nonagricultural job in 1984. Putting this together with our interpretation of Tables 4 and 5, it seems that migration has an important influence on the preferences and skills for nonagricultural work. This conclusion is speculative, but migration appears to mitigate the impact of initial differences in skills and preferences.

Table 6 also reveals an important gender difference in employment trajectories. For both young men and young women, agriculture was the most likely occupation in 1984 according to Table 4: 43 percent among males and 48 percent among females 8–25 years old. Table 6 shows that in 1994 and 2000 the young women were more likely than the young men to be engaged in agriculture, but what follows from that involvement differs sharply by gender. More than half of the young women in agriculture in 1984 were still in agriculture a decade later, whereas this was true of only a third of the young men. The different trajectories are possibly due to differences in the demand for male and female labor in places of destination, perhaps in conjunction with efforts to control the movements of young women more than young men. It is possible that despite the socioeconomic changes in Thailand, women are still trying to perform the traditional roles expected of them, including the role of caregiver to elderly parents [Curran 1995: 40]. At the same time, out-migration is common for both genders, and similarities are more striking than differences in the employment of urban migrants. It is possible that agricultural employment has a different significance for young men and young women in rural villages of Thailand. Although there are exceptions, the traditional pattern is for daughters to inherit family land, and for the youngest also to inherit the parental home

[Foster 1984: 86; Richter and Podhisita 1992: 9]. Perhaps for young women, agricultural employment is a step in this direction. Interestingly, the migration propensities of young women not initially in agriculture resemble those of young men.

Discussion

In this study we have examined employment trends of young men and women in Thailand using data from 1984 to 2000, a period of increasing globalization, export-oriented development, and unprecedented economic growth in Thailand despite the 1997 financial crisis. Globalization has economic, financial, technical, and cultural implications. Thailand has witnessed changes in all these areas. Our analysis has focused primarily on economic growth and its consequences for economic opportunities and employment outcomes.

We examined changes in occupations among residents of rural Thailand, including those employed in rural areas or as temporary or permanent migrants to urban centers. Given the strong ties—financial as well as social and cultural—that urban migrants have to their households of origin in rural areas, we believe that changes in rural areas are closely connected to the economic changes occurring in urban areas. This is particularly true in poor, primarily agricultural rural areas such as Nang Rong District, areas that otherwise offer little opportunity for employment outside of agriculture, especially in the dry season. We have further conceptualized employment and migration as varying according to the stage of an individual's life course. Using the Nang Rong CEP-CPC data, we have relied on this connection between rural and urban areas in examining employment trends over an extended period of time, based on individuals' past migration history as well as the stage in their life course, all situated in a context of increasing economic opportunities.

Our research reveals some interesting patterns. Most apparent is the growing trend of nonagricultural employment in urban and rural areas, validating the hypothesis that the macroeconomic changes in Thailand have permeated to rural areas as well. An increasing percentage of men and women are employed as skilled or unskilled labor in factories, rice mills, and construction work. Therefore, a trend toward the diversification of household activities outside of agriculture is taking place, even in Nang Rong, although it is slow and delayed or even small, as compared with what urban migrants do. The largest increase in nonagricultural activity is evident between 1994 and 2000, indicating possibly a lag in the impact of growing opportunities on poor rural areas such as Nang Rong.

Migrants, both urban and rural, are likely players in this process, as an examination of past migration patterns of individuals in rural areas indicates. With poverty and population pressures on land in rural areas, both seasonal and permanent migration from

rural areas has increased. The development of transport and infrastructural facilities in rural Thailand in conjunction with the country's overall focus on economic development has facilitated this movement. Individuals who have had the opportunity to migrate in the past are more likely to move into nonagricultural employment, especially in factories or even as construction labor, even when they return to rural areas. Given the drudgery of agricultural work, they now have an added incentive to move into nonagricultural activities, which are becoming increasingly available, particularly in small towns adjoining rural areas. Equally likely is the possibility that the remittances of urban migrants have led to a slow transformation of rural areas, creating new employment opportunities there. A change is evident in urban areas as well. Especially in the late 1990s, there was a trend toward greater employment in the service sector as manufacturing activities led to the need for better services. This change, though small, is evident in rural Nang Rong too and is significant, given that our conservative definition of employment in the service sector includes only employment as traders, food-service workers, transportation workers, and domestic workers.

These trends are further confirmed in our cohort analysis, which follows a single cohort of individuals aged 8–25 from 1984 to 2000. They also display gender differences in the patterns of movement from rural Nang Rong to urban areas. Much of the globalization and migration literature on Thailand and other Southeast Asian countries alludes to the large role played by youth, particularly women, in the growth of labor-intensive industries and the service sector. This is evident in Nang Rong as well. Both women and men play a part in the migration process, but with gender differences. While all young men have a tendency to migrate to urban areas, only some women do, mainly those women who previously engaged in some nonagricultural activity. It appears, therefore, that those young women who have stronger ties to land remain in their villages, while a majority of men seek out new opportunities in urban and other rural areas. But patterns of return migration are also interesting, again with distinct gender differences. They tend to be small, even between 1994 and 2000, despite reports in other research of high rates of return migration after the 1997 financial crisis. Whereas men maintain ties to their households of origin and are likely to return, it is the opposite case with women.

Throughout this study, we have made references to the 1997 financial crisis in our discussions of changing employment and migration patterns, levels of unemployment, and a possible delay in the entry to work among youth. We intend to be cautious in assessing its impact, however. As others have indicated [*e.g.*, Rigg and Nattapoolwat 2001: 956], the effects of the crisis may have been immediate but without creating a major dent in the high growth levels in Thailand over the long term (see Chalamwong [1998: 297] for a contrasting view). It is also difficult to assess the impact on the rest of the economy. Most analyses, for example of the impact of the crisis in Indonesia, are based on aggregate statistics and so do not always present a true picture of the changes over

time [Aslanbeigui and Summerfield 2000: 88; Frankenberg, Thomas, and Beegle 1999: 31]. Even in Thailand, our analysis of the situation between 1994 and 2000 possibly misses some subtle short-term changes that occurred during that period. It is possible that high levels of unemployment after the crisis reflected only job turnovers rather than longer stints of unemployment. Other researchers have shown that return migration as a result of the economic crisis in Thailand was not permanent [TDRI 2000: 35]. We have found that the levels of unemployment were consistently low at all three time points, including 2000, except possibly among adolescents and youth who were still in school. A deeper analysis of the retrospective employment-history data for individuals from Nang Rong, which we will undertake in a subsequent study, is required to explore this subject more thoroughly.

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